1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

with any relatives who had been less fortunate. Most of it was taken home and prepared for a feast to which all the old and indigent were invited, as well as the visiting kin. The speech emphasizes also the gifts of cooked food which were sent to other houses.

THE DEER DRIVE AND THE CLEANSING CEREMONY

As the ceremonial rabbit drive opened the summer hunting season, so a deer drive opened the winter season. At least, this was so among the northern Papago, whose deer hunting began in November. The southern Papago held their deer dance and hunt in August. In both cases the procedure was the same. A blacktailed deer was ritually killed and cooked, with corn, beans, and squash from the harvest. Songs, dancing, and orations united and sanctified all this food in a general cleansing ceremony.

The rites were instituted by I'itoi, say the ceremonialists, because after he had created the deer he found that the people became sick from eating too much of it. So he showed them a dance by which they might "step down the sickness." Though this is popularly known as "deer dance," it has nothing in common with the dances for multiplying game, so common among the Pueblos. Its Papago name is *mā'makah*, a word no informant could translate. One member of the *maam* sib thought that it might refer to that group, to which he said *I'itoi* had specifically given it. Certain it is that in this ceremony sib distinctions play an important part. Special roles are assigned to members of *maam* and *dapap*, but since these are the oldest and most important members of Buzzard and Coyote, respectively, it may be that the distinction is actually one of moiety.[11]

A cleansing ceremony was given in each of the important ceremonial centers, Archie, Pisinimo, Kaka, and Quitovaca (Sonora). The only one still in force is that held at Quitovaca, though the Pisinimo people, who are Catholics, substitute for it the killing of a beef in front of the church on Holy Cross day and the distribution of cakes instead of venison. Accounts of the dance were obtained from Kaka, Santa Rosa, Pisinimo, and Quitovaca and are different enough to be treated separately.

[11] For description of sibs and moieties see Underhill, 1939, pp. 30–34.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

daylight hours. But there was also a division according to season and age. In summer, the older men did the farm work, with help from the young men and women at planting and harvest. The young men did some hunting, travelling, ditch building, house building and practiced for the races on which the old men bet. Women, in summer, gathered wild foods, the older women cooked and made baskets while the young ground corn and fetched wood and water. In winter the old men made rope, tools and weapons while the young men fought and hunted deer: the old women still cooked and the young ones were, as always, the wood and water carriers.

The distinction between young and old approached that in a modern society between laboring and employing classes. Heavy labor, everywhere, was done by the young, under the direction of the old. Young men had no voice in council or even in the planning of a war raid, an occasion when, in some Indian societies, they were so prominent. Young women did not manage their households. Youth was considered unfit for thinking and planning and, both in the household and the village, the commanding positions belonged to the old.

It was also the old who practiced the special crafts whose returns went beyond the scope of gifts and became commercial goods. The constant labor required of youth left little time for the long process of learning pottery, netting, mat plaiting, skin dressing and weaving by the Papago process of imitation and repetition. Men and women did not "sit down" to these crafts until middle age. Coiled basketry was the one exception to the rule, for baskets were a necessity and every girl had to learn enough about them to make one during her puberty seclusion. But the other specialties often were not begun until there were grown sons and daughters-in-law in the home to carry on the day's work.

Among the mens' specialties, deer hunting was the most common and was the only one practiced by young men. It meant a long apprenticeship beginning in boyhood and involving the learning of magic and the clever use of the deerhead disguise. One man in a family was sometimes the hunter while the others attended to the land. The other arts were tool making, weaving and skin dressing. The last two are handed over to women in tribes where all the men are busy with war and hunting. But young Papago women had a full time occupation as mere carriers and neither war nor hunting was a major occupation. The women's arts were the plaiting of sleeping mats and of ceremonial baskets, the netting and dying of the intricately made carrying net, the weaving of bands on the belt loom and the making of pottery.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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yes, clubs and shields. And they dance with them in front of the men. They dance and they sing with those weapons, and they will not give them back until the men have paid them. 159x 727

We heard those girls run out, the girls who could run far. And when the men came near we saw the old woman go dancing out; the woman who takes the scalps. Foamy Water was her name; a woman who could not menstruate and hurt those powerful things. She took it when she was old enough from her mother who was called Painted Girl, because Painted Girl was so old she could not dance any more. [882]

But Foamy Water danced hard. They gave her the hair of the Apache, not scalps, just long hairs from the temples, and they gave her his beaded buckskin shoe. They had tied those things on a pole, and she came dancing with it into the village, dancing at every house. She came outside our house making the pole go up and down. She sang: 159x 727 887

[533]

Here I stand, singing for my prisoner
Come and see, Oh, women!
I dreamed that I saw light
At the tips of the warriors' feathers.

Then she stuck the pole in front of the council house and all the people went there to hear about the fight. It is the two messengers who tell that story before the fighters come, and sometimes after they tell about the killing, they end up: "But they got some of our men." Then they tell how they made a fire and burned up the dead men with everything they had. Because we dare not bury a man who died in the enemy's country. We must have fire to take away the power of the Apache. [766]

We thought if anyone was dead we would hear the crying. So my grandmother listened; she knew the women's voices. But there was no crying. So my grandmother cooked us our food, and she did not put any salt in it, because we were being purified. I sat by the house wall away from the fire and I was cold. I heard the men who had not killed come into the village, yelling and whipping their horses, and I heard everybody singing at the council house, stamping up and down: 159x 727 [563] 783

Poor crow. There it hangs. Poor crow. [533]

They sang that way every night for all the days of purifying. It is a good thing to have the enemy's hair raised on a pole above our houses. It calls the clouds to it and brings rain on our land, and then the corn comes up. But those who have brought the blessing cannot dance. Not they and not their families. Leaf Buds' husband went out to meet my father and led

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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horses, and there was something shining on his shoulder. It was the eyes of an owl. "What will you do with it?" I said. So he let it fly away. But I think he spoke with it after that, behind the mountain.

He had crystals growing in him, and I know he had dreams but he had not told them yet. People only tell their dreams when they begin to cure.

When he was seventeen he went to the drinking ceremony, and he met one of those wild women who run about without husbands and sleep in the arroyos. He put her on his horse and brought her home to Standing Rock. That was a bad thing. I did not like that, but we said nothing. Then she wanted money to buy things. She did not want him to stay and plant our corn with Two Bits. They went to the white man's town of Many Cottonwoods and had two children there. But that woman killed him.

She was a woman who would not wait and do things at the right time. She lay with my son in the house when she should have been at the Little House. That kills the power of a medicine man. It rots his crystals and after a while it kills him, too. So he came back to stay with my daughter and left that woman. She would not come back with him, out of the town.

I went there to my poor son and took him to a medicine man, but that one said: "His crystals are all dead and dried. They build combs like bees and those combs are empty and blue. His power is dead." So he died. "My mother," he said to me, "I will come to you like an owl. You will know me." And it is true. The other day I was passing by a giant cactus, and there sat an owl in the fork and called to me. It does not happen often. I would like to hear my son call again.

That wild woman who was his wife took another husband the next year at the drinking ceremony. The man's name was Jackrabbit Chief and he was an old man, but it was dark and she did not know it. She got on his horse with him and she said: "Where do you live?" "At the place of the Dead Dog," he said. The sun was coming up just then and she saw his face. "Oh, that's too far." She jumped off the horse and we have never seen her again.

My daughter never lived with us very much. She lived with my mother and my brother, so when it came for her to marry, it was my brother who offered her. There was a man named Crooked Lightning whose sister was married to my brother. Crooked Lightning was as old as my brother. He was a singer and a good man. He had a wife who scolded him but he did not scold her. Only one day he went away from her and came to my brother, and said he needed another wife. So my brother gave him my daughter, Crescensa. She is a big fat woman now, a good woman.

It has been a long time since my children were married. My old husband

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and I lived with them, and then we lived with our grandchildren. Thirty years my husband and I were together. He grew blind. He lay on his mattress all day long, and I had to pull it round the house to keep it in the shade. All the time he sang. He knew every song in the world, and he lay there singing in a low voice. Sometimes he slept in the day when it was warm and he sang in the night. We would wake up in the night and hear him singing.

Seven years ago he died. He said: "Now I'm going to rest and you shall rest, too." He meant I need not work for him any more, pulling that mattress around the house.

"But I won't come when I am dead to frighten you," he said. "Only when it's time for you to go. Then I'll come to call you. But not yet, I will not call you yet. First you'll hear some man say: 'I want to marry you'."

The next year I did. I had great grandchildren then, but still a man came and asked me to go to his house. But I was tired. I said: "No, I am too old. I cannot cook for you."

So I stay now with my grandchildren. Don't you think my baskets are good? I make them all day—all day long, and the young women do the cooking. While I work I hear voices: "Put a turtle there! Put a Gila monster here! Here put a zigzag." Then I seem to see a woman holding up the finished basket and I know how it will be.

I like to work at my daughter's house, at the Burnt Seeds. She has corn meal there and cactus seeds. I can eat when I live there, and every year I go with her to the drinking ceremony. They want me, for I can sing. But when I go to someone's house I have to stay a long time before I can walk back. It is not good to be old. Not beautiful. When you come again, I will not be here.

Papago women and this is probably due, as might be expected, to the lack of education found among the women who must support themselves or help support their families in seasonal agricultural work. Women engaged in non-agricultural wage work, which includes the women who work as domestics, are the best educated.

Employment and Age. The significant age differences in employment are given in Table 22. Contrary to heretofore inconclusive evidence, Papagos under forty hold more jobs in off-reservation wage work (agriculture and non-agriculture) in proportion to their numbers than do the older men. The unemployed, however, are definitely younger men: 6.3% as compared to 4.0%. Unearned income (usually welfare) goes to the older people, 17.6% as against 2.4%. There is little or no sex difference in this category.

There is a very high proportion of Papagos over 65 who are receiving unearned income (usually Old Age Assistance): 206 out of a total of 343 (57%).

Table 22. Papago Administrative Population Employment by Age. Individuals 19 Years and Over, 1939.

Type of Employment or Income	Under Forty			Over Forty		
	Total	Number	%	Total	Number	%
Reservation Agriculture	2540	115	4.5	1907	155	8.1
Reservation Wage Work	2540	72	2.8	1907	46	2.4
Off Reservation Wages	2540	1065	41.9	1907	634	33.2
Unemployed	2540	160	6.3	1907	77	4.0
Unearned Income	2540	60	2.4	1907	335	17.6

Employment and Origin. In addition to a low average education, the Papago labor force has the added disadvantage of little or no childhood experience in areas where young people normally have a wide variety of jobs. Approximately 86% of the present Papago labor force originated on the three reservations where opportunities for earning money at odd jobs are practically non-existent. Boys and girls on the reservations, of course, help their families in the home and on

the process of job upgrading which has moved other ethnic groups from seasonal farm work to temporary and permanent farm work to urban industrial employment. 463

Papago Welfare Programs. There is little or no evidence that Papago Indians have taken undue advantage of welfare programs. On the contrary, there is much evidence that state and federal welfare payments make the difference between complete and painful poverty and a bearable standard of living for many reservation families. This last statement holds particularly true for the old people--close to 60% of all welfare payments go to individuals over 65--who are especially vulnerable under modern conditions. 657 511 [888]

To learn more about this problem, and its place in reservation family economics, Mr. Richard Jones, graduate research assistant in the Bureau of Ethnic Research, was assigned the task of gathering and analysing necessary data. His work was thorough, covering all phases of welfare administration, welfare costs, and the effect of welfare on Indian families. A summary of his findings is given below. 114 121

Information gathered from the Indians themselves very obviously gives an undercount of welfare cases. We report a total of 390 individuals (on and off reservation) who received unearned income in 1959. The official number of cases, reported by Jones for reservation residents alone for 1959 was 448. We report a total of 206 individuals over the age of 65 receiving unearned income while Jones reports 266 cases of Old Age Assistance (39%). 657 128

It is not likely that Papagos would deliberately withhold information on welfare. The difference is probably to be found in the welfare cases among the 990 on whom we have no employment data, and in the reporting of individuals receiving welfare as "unemployed". In any event, we were forced to depend upon informants since welfare information, which identifies the recipient, is confidential and so not available to us.

461 The economic incentive in harvesting cotton is re-
464 flected in some purchasing habits of Papagos during
picking season. About three-fifths of them buy some
454 quantity of staple foods beyond their immediate needs
in labor camps. They take such extra food back to the
261 reserves on one of their trips to a fiesta, or at the
end of the work season.[1] Flour, sugar, coffee, and
beans bought with cotton picking wages help see the
family through some of the months between harvest sea-
sons. The quantity laid in is usually not large,
probably enough for only a month or two.

432 The Desert People who pick cotton also purchase
439 most of their clothing while they are at work and earn-
ing money--and are near Anglo shopping centers where
prices are less than in reservation trading posts, and
choice is wider. Many jackets, boots, and other items
are purchased at Magdalena at fiesta also. Perhaps
7 Papago harvest hands are limited in their clothing
purchasing to picking season and its ready cash of 10.[2]

461 Some of the Desert People do not go to work in the
871 cotton fields from a need for money, however. There
are some determined parents who are thoroughly con-
vinced both of the necessity for educating their child-
ren and the inadequacy of Indian Bureau schools on the
reserves. Some of them act upon their convictions by
moving to labor camps so their children may attend pub-
lic schools where they have to learn to compete with
Anglo and Mexican-American children. This element of
[181] competition is generally absent from reservation
school despite the best efforts of teachers because
students are all Papagos, and Papago training is all
toward cooperation and good interpersonal relations
rather than competitiveness.

166 Some older people go to labor camps because there
● 888 is no one left on the reservation to care for them when
[462] the family goes to pick. As an old man put it, "I mov-
ed over here so my daughter could feed me." Women are
the cooks in Papago society, and this widower had to
come along with his daughter's family to eat.

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[1] Of 22 families giving data, 14 purchased extra food to store, 64%.

[2] Of 14 families giving data, 10 bought all their clothes during the work season in 1950--71%.